

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L GENEVA 1844

EXDIS NOFORN

DEPARTMENT FOR SONNENFELDT AND HARTMAN FROM SHERER

MOSCOW FOR STOESSEL

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PFOR
SUBJECT: CSCE: MEETING WITH SOVIET DELEGATION HEAD

SUMMARY. AT 90-MINUTE FINAL MEETING PRIOR TO SECRETARY KISSINGER'S VISIT TO MOSCOW, SOVIET DELEGATION HEAD VICE-MINISTER KOVALEV GAVE US HIS CURRENT IMPRESSIONS OF PRINCIPLE CSCE ISSUES. KOVALEV SOUGHT FURTHER USDEL ASSISTANCE IN ACHIEVING "CRYSTAL CLEAR" INVIOABILITY PRINCIPLE AND GAVE US HIS ASSURANCE THAT SOVIETS WOULD BE FORTHCOMING ON BASKET III SPECIFICS ONCE INVIOABILITY PRINCIPLE DRAFTED. KOVALEV RESTATED SOVIET "DETERMINATION" ON PHASE III SUMMIT. END SUMMARY.

1. GENERAL--I SAID WE EXPECT CSCE TO BE DISCUSSED DURING THE SECRETARY'S VISIT TO MOSCOW AND ASKED FOR KOVALEV'S VIEWS ON CONFERENCE AT THIS JUNCTURE. KOVALEV SAID HE ALSO WOULD BE REPORTING LATEST SITUATION TO MOSCOW ON EVE OF SECRETARY'S VISIT. DESPITE US EFFORTS TO INTENSIFY CSCE WORK, CONFERENCE IS STILL MOVING VERY SLOWLY. SOVIET DELEGATION APPRECIATES MORE ACTIVE US ROLE BUT CONSIDERS THERE ARE POSSIBILITIES FOR FURTHER US CONTRIBUTIONS. HE HOPED USDEL COULD TAKE CLEARER POSITIONS ON IMPORTANT CONFERENCE QUESTIONS, BOTH IN CSCE COMMITTEES AND CORRIDOR

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PAGE 02 GENEVA 01844 211853Z

CONVERSATIONS. THERE SHOULD BE NO APPEARANCE OF "CONDOMINIUM"JA

BUT US AND USSR SHOULD WORK TACTFULLY TO ACHIEVE GOOD CONFERENCE RESULTS. I AGREED PROGRESS WAS STILL TOO SLOW AND SAID I HAD BEEN DISAPPOINTED TO HEAR SOME DELEGATES TALKING ABOUT MID-JULY CONCLUSION OF PHASE II. USDEL WILL WORK HARD TO ENCOURAGE CONCLUSION OF PHASE II BY EARLY JUNE.

2. INVIOABILITY OF FRONTIERS--KOVALEV SAID NEGOTIATIONS ON THIS PRINCIPLE WERE AT A DELICATE STAGE AND HOPED A CRYSTAL CLEAR DRAFT COULD BE ADOPTED BY END OF THIS WEEK, WITH NO BRACKETS. SOVIETS HAD SUGGESTED PRIVATELY POSSIBILITY OF DRAFTING A SENTENCE ABOUT "PEACEFUL CHANGE" ON A SEPARATE PIECE OF PAPER TO BE PLACED ELSEWHERE IN THE PRINCIPLES AT A LATER DATE. KOVALEV SAID SOVIETS WERE PRESENTING THIS IDEA AS DEVICE FOR FACILITATING DRAFTING OF CLEAR INVIOABILITY PRINCIPLE. IF A DECISION COULD BE TAKEN ON THIS PRINCIPLE, THE RIGHT BALANCE COULD BE STRUCK IN THE CONFERENCE RESULTS, INCLUDING BASKET III. KOVALEV ASKED IF USDEL COULD HELP SOVIETS BY SUPPORTING IDEA OF SEPARATE PIECE OF PAPER. I SAID US APPRECIATES GREAT IMPORTANCE OF INVIOABILITY PRINCIPLE TO SOVIETS. USDEL IS TRYING TO ASSIST IN A SUBTLE WAY WHILE AVOIDING DIRECT SUPPORT WHICH MIGHT BE MISINTERPRETED BY OUR FRIENDS. AT THE SAME TIME IT MAY BE DIFFICULT TO AVOID BRACKETS COMPLETELY ON THIS PRINCIPLE SINCE SOME DELEGATIONS WISH TO USE THIS POINT TACTICALLY TO GUARANTEE FORWARD MOVEMENT ON BASKET III ISSUES. IT WAS ESSENTIAL TO ACHIEVE SOME BALANCE IN CONFERENCE PROGRESS, INCLUDING BASKET III. I ASSURED KOVALEV THAT WE WOULD SUPPORT SOVIET IDEA OF SEPARATE PIECE OF PAPER ON "PEACEFUL CHANGE".

3. LINKAGE BETWEEN INVIOABILITY AND BASKET III-KOVALEV SAID HE WAS GIVING INSTRUCTIONS TO MOVE FORWARD ENERGETICALLY IN BASKET III AS SOON AS INVIOABILITY PRINCIPLE IS SETTLED, BUT IF THIS PRINCIPLE IS NOT CLEARLY STATED, WITH NO BRACKETS, THIS WILL TIE SOVIET HANDS IN BASKET III. ATTEMPTS TO PLACE INVIOABILITY PRINCIPLE WITHIN BRACKETS AND USE IT AS A TRADE-OFF AGAINST BASKET III WILL HAVE EFFECT OF SLOWING DOWN PROGRESS ON THESE ISSUES. KOVALEV SAID HE COULD GIVE US HIS PERSONAL ASSURANCE THAT BASKET III PROGRESS WOULD BE FORTHCOMING IF INVIOABILITY IS SETTLED, AND SAID WE COULD REFER TO HIS ASSURANCE IN CONVERSATIONS WITH ALLIES IF THIS WOULD BE USEFUL. I SAID I PERSONALLY APPRECIATED HIS ASSURANCE, BUT US CONFIDENCE GROWS FROM WORKING CLOSELY WITH CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 03 GENEVA 01844 211853Z

SOVIETS ON MANY BROAD QUESTIONS. THIS CONFIDENCE WAS REGRETTABLY NOT SHARED BY ALL WESTERN COUNTRIES WHO HAVE NOT WORKED CLOSELY WITH SOVIETS. USDEL WILL ASSIST SOVIETS AS MUCH AS POSSIBLE WITHOUT GIVING APPEARANCE OF CONDOMINIUM, BUT IT WAS DOUBTFUL THAT INVIOABILITY PRINCIPLE COULD BE AGREED COMPLETELY BY END OF WEEK. IT WOULD BE HELPFUL IF WESTERN COUNTRIES COULD SEE SIMULTANEOUS PROGRESS IN BASKET III.

4. BASKET III SPECIFICS--KOVLEV SAID SUBSTANCE OF SOVIET POSITION WAS SIMILAR TO WESTERN POSITION AND PROBLEM WAS IN FINDING THE RIGHT FORMULATIONS. SOVIETS WERE READY TO ACCEPT SOMEWHAT INCREASED NUMBERS AND TITLES OF WESTERN NEWSPAPERS AND MAGAZINES TO BE SOLD IN USSR: OF COURSE AN ENDLESS, SUDDEN INFLOW OF PAPERS AND MAGAZINES WAS NOT POSSIBLE. DIFFERENCES BETWEEN WESTERN AND SOVIET FORMULATIONS WERE RATHER SMALL. FOR EXAMPLE ITALIANS PROPOSED TO REFER TO "GRADUAL INCREASE" WHEREAS SOVIETS PREFERRED "SOME INCREASE". WITH WISE AND REALISTIC TREATMENT WE COULD ACHIEVE RESULTS ON THIS IN TWO HOURS. THE SAME WAS TRUE IN AREA OF HUMAN CONTACTS. SOVIETS FAVOR WIDER CONTACTS AND EASIER FAMILY TIES, AND SOME FORMULAS HAVE ALREADY BEEN AGREED IN THIS AREA, BUT EVERY COUNTRY HAS ITS OWN LEGISLATION AND BASKET III AGREEMENTS COULD NOT BE COMPLETELY AUTOMATIC. WE SHOULD RECOGNIZE THIS AND NOT ARGUE OVER PETTY WORDS. I SAID I APPRECIATED THESE ASSURANCES. USDEL WILL DO ITS BEST TO BUILD CONFIDENCE IN THOSE WHO DOUBT SOVIET DESIRE TO HAVE BALANCED FINAL DOCUMENTS. SOVIETS SHOULD ALSO BE CONSCIOUS OF THE FACT THAT CERTAIN WORDS AND PHRASES THEY WISH TO INCLUDE IN BASKET III AGREEMENTS SEEM TO CONTRADICT OR UNDERMINE THE GENERAL THRUST OF BASKET III. MANY WESTERN COUNTRIES ARE APPREHENSIVE OF BEING CRITICIZED BECAUSE OF SUCH WORDS. FINDING FORMULATIONS WHICH AVOID GIVING THIS IMPRESSION WOULD GREATLY ASSIST PROGRESS IN BASKET III. KOVALEV SAID HE APPRECIATED THIS EXPLANATION AND WOULD TRY TO FIND WAYS WHICH WOULD HELP WITH THIS PROBLEM.

5. BASKET II--KOVALEV SAID THAT AFTER OUR LAST MEETING HE HAD DRAWN ATTENTION OF HIS ECONOMIC EXPERTS TO POINT THAT REFERENCES TO NON-DISCRIMINATION IN TRADE SHOULD NOT BE DIRECTED TOWARD ONE SIDE OR THE OTHER. WE SHOULD BE ABLE TO FIND WORDS TO COVER THIS SITUATION. SOVIETS WERE INTERESTED IN GREATER ECONOMIC COOPERATION IN ACCORDANCE WITH DECISIONS OF COMMUNIST PARTY PLENUM BUT THERE SEEMED TO BE NO MOVEMENT IN DISCUSSION
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PAGE 04 GENEVA 01844 211853Z

OF PRINCIPLE OF MFN.

6. CONFIDENCE-BUILDING MEASURES (CBM'S)--KOVALEV SAID HE WOULD BE REPORTING TO MOSCOW THAT US POSITION ON CBM'S HAD NOT CHANGED. AS HE UNDERSTOOD IT, US BELIEVED QUESTION OF MOVEMENTS SHOULD BE STUDIED IN CSCE BUT NOT SOLVED. OTHERWISE HE UNDERSTOOD USDEL SUPPORTS UK/FRG POSITION. SOVIETS, FOR THEIR PART, CONSIDER UK/FRG AND NEUTRAL PROPOSALS ARE MAXIMALIST AND UNREALISTIC. THESE COUNTRIES HOPE TO INCLUDE ALL OF EUROPEAN USSR IN AREA OF NOTIFICATION, AND THIS COULD NOT BE A BASIS FOR DRAFTING. SOVIET POSITION REMAINS THE SAME AS IT HAS BEEN.

7. THIRD PHASE, FINAL DOCUMENTS, AND FOLLOW-UP--KOVALEV SAID SOVIET POSITION ON FOLLOW-UP REMAINS THE SAME. THEY ARE AS INTERESTED IN THIS AS EVER. ON THIRD PHASE KOVALEV UNDERSTOOD

US POSITION REMAINS AS STATED IN JUNE, 1973 US/USSR COMMUNIQUE. SOVIETS ARE "DETERMINED" TO HAVE THIRD PHASE SUMMIT SO THAT CSCE DOCUMENTS CAN BE SIGNED AT HIGHEST LEVEL. IN THIS REGARD SOVIETS REMAIN OPPOSED TO DUTCH DRAFT FRAMEWORK FOR FINAL DOCUMENTS. DUTCH PAPER RAISES MANY QUESTIONS WHICH ARE VERY DELICATE BECAUSE THEY RELATE TO THOSE WHO WILL SIGN FINAL CSCE DOCUMENTS. (USDEL COMMENT: DUTCH DRAFT FRAMEWORK PAPER SUGGESTS THAT SIGNATURES BE AFFIXED TO FULL PACKAGE OF FINAL CSCE DOCUMENTS OR TO BRIEF "FINAL ACT" WITH AGREEMENTS ATTACHED. SOVIETS HAVE INDICATED THEIR PREFERENCE THAT ONLY REPEAT ONLY LIST OF PRINCIPLES BE SIGNED. WE DO NOT REPEAT NOT THINK CSCE WOULD AGREE TO SIGN ONLY LIST OF PRINCIPLES. END COMMENT).

8. RELATIONS BETWEEN US/SOVIET DELEGATIONS--KOVALEV SAID US AND SOVIET DELEGATIONS HAD BEEN WORKING MORE AND MORE CLOSELY TOGETHER. THERE HAD BEEN NO CONFRONTATIONS AND BOTH SIDES HAD KEPT THEIR WORD ON THIS. WE HAVE TO MOVE CAUTIOUSLY AND TAKE ACCOUNT OF THE FEELING OF OTHER COUNTRIES BUT THIS SHOULD NOT HOLD US BACK FROM USING OUR INFLUENCE AND EXPRESSING OUR IDEAS ON CONFERENCE WORK. I ASSURED KOVALEV THAT USDEL WILL CONTINUE TO WORK HARD FOR A SUCCESSFUL CSCE CONCLUSION AT EARLIEST POSSIBLE DATE.DALE

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